

THE
REVOLUTIONARY MIND
IN
INDIA TODAY

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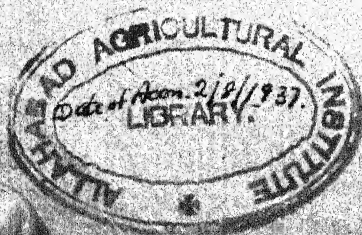
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PREFACE

What is here represents thought and experience of living with Youth over a number of years, lighted up by recollections of the storm and stress of one's own student days.

Youth today is in a parlous state. Criticism and censure are very much in place. But still more : sympathy, guidance, and above all example, if the future is to be saved.

The trouble with the elders and with the Administration is that we both refuse to recognise what we have produced as the real child and not a changeling. Laissez-faire and ignorance of the consequences of principles we ourselves have held, are jointly responsible for this.

We now have to think in new categories, if our institutions, the school, the family, the workshop and the state, are to function properly in this changed and changing world. This is the true significance of the Revolution in our midst.

Further, Society everywhere is swinging from the acquisitive to the contributive base. If the hinges are to support

it and not break down, we will need not less but more of true morality and religion. The adulterated stuff has done the present mischief. We need the genuine article, and more of it.

The present writer's conviction is that Christianity, put on its true basis first, will be a great ally in this endeavour. He also believes that in building the New Jerusalem on this earth, British Government and British ideals, which it often haltingly embodies, have no mean part to bear. It is not sufficiently realised, again, what we in India already owe to the Christian Church in England in the matter of nation-making legislation. This work has suffered a check, but when the Church's conscience is sufficiently enlightened and roused, we shall have the coping stone put to what England has attempted in India.

It should be added that my views represent only myself, and, not necessarily the institutions with which I am connected.

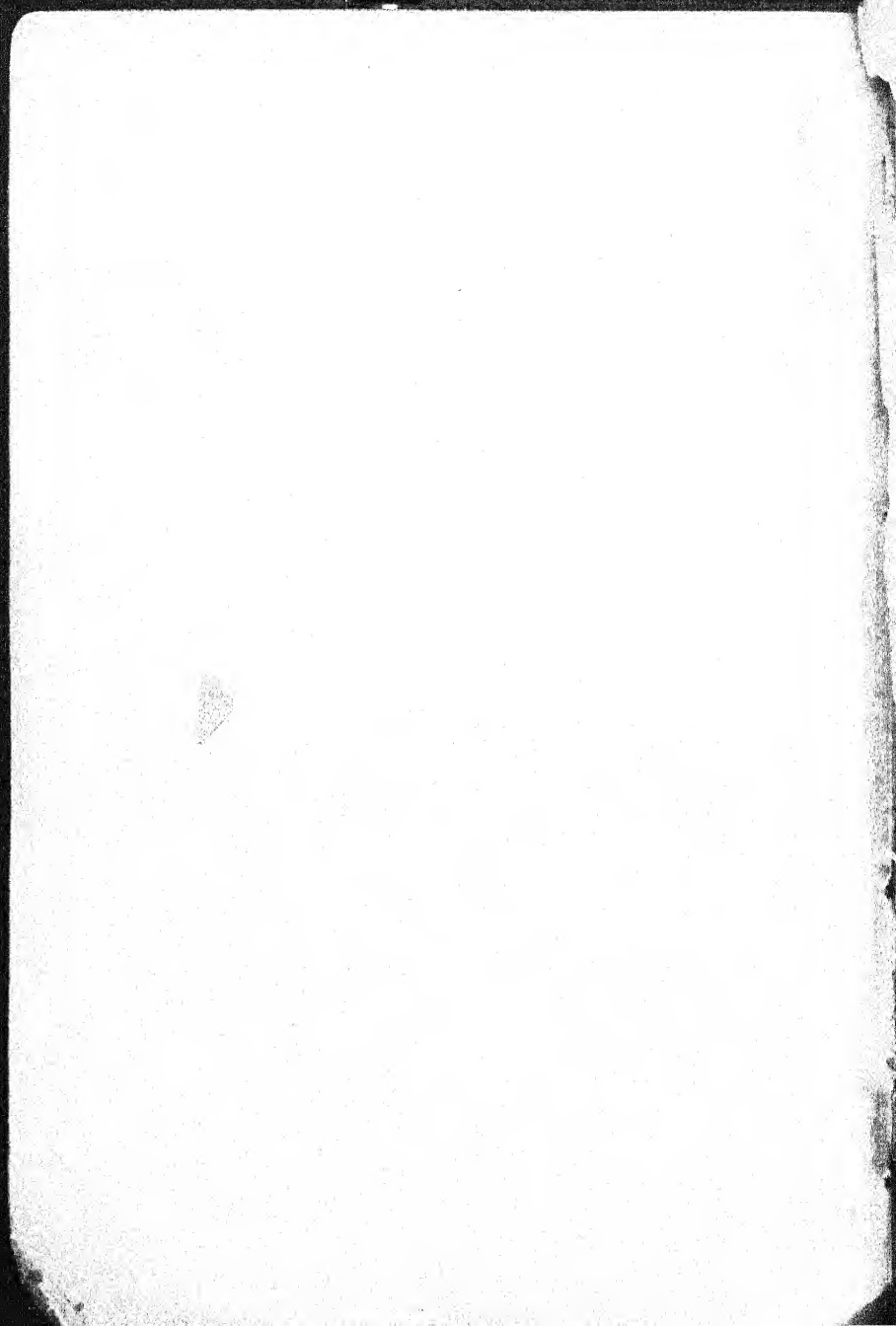
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**THE TWO REVOLUTIONS :
NON-VIOLENT & VIOLENT**





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Philosophy is thought to be unpractical. But as a matter of fact it has an intimate bearing on our practice. The political happenings of today, I mean the revolutionary movements, non-violent and violent, have their roots in the philosophical ideas which have been the back ground of the thinking of our people.

If we ask ourselves how our moderate and liberal politics got supplanted by Gandhian politics, we shall go very far wrong if we leave out this influence of philosophy on our life. Our liberal politics was based on a study of English ideals, which we had assimilated so rapidly and widely. But it was an assimilation of something from the outside. It required time and culture, and we absorbed it in varying degrees. But all the time in the background remained the old ideas, our view of life not being yet a sufficiently unified one. When the Mahatma appeared on the scene, his call was a call to what was in our blood, and the result was a practical sweep out of the new culture which we were at much pains in assimilating.

The most fundamental ideal perhaps in the Indian view of life is *Sanyas*, or Asceticism, as the End. Asceticism

as a means we cannot dispense with, but Asceticism as the End is a very different creature. It is the old problem of Appearance and Reality. If Reality does not appear then obviously appearances have no value and the earnest must turn their back on it, in pursuit of the Reality, which is a *minus* so far as appearances are concerned. Life thus comes to be for the earnest a pursuit of the *Big Minus*, so far as giving value to the experiences of this life and the things of this world are concerned. We thus find the Mahatma giving no value whatsoever to the institutions of this life, like marriage, education, law, and the state. I am trying to oversimplify the picture to make my point clearer. I do not wish to forget that there is another side to the Mahatma's character—another self, where value is given to these things. I refer to his constructive programme. But it is a question of : which is the top dog and which the under dog in his thinking. The constructive programme is not on a level with the End to be realized, in this case freedom. If it were on a level, he would not pursue it at the expense of the values of this life. Freedom then will not be the *Big Minus*, as it is in his thinking. It will be freedom *plus* the other values, namely, culture and the benefits of the state. So while it is true that he sometimes shows an appreciation of the values of this life, as when he calls back

his destructive propaganda, yet in the main what he is after is destruction and not construction. The end of life in the ascetic philosophy is to be pursued only in one way, namely blowing up the self, not a reconstruction of it but a destruction. And this is based on the theory of Appearance and Reality, already mentioned. So, when a mind so attuned came to seek political freedom, it followed the same technique, namely that the right sort of government has to be established by blowing up the State. This is the explanation of his non-cooperation. Government for him is a very simple affair. It is simple, because the long labour which has given us our education, artistic and political evolution, has no meaning for him. If it has a meaning, it has only a temporary one; as he calls it, it is 'an accommodation.' Like the Stoic Wise Man, he gives no value to the things that he might nonetheless use. This is how while non-cooperation was practised against everything in the first* burst, in the second† burst, it did not prevent the permitting of the lawyer's practise at the courts, and the industrialist's running his much detested machine. It was not that there was a change of heart, but their money, could be used while their work had no value. What

* 1921.

† 1930.

arrested the movement was, as happened with our students when they decided to return to their studies in the second burst, that our people realized the barrenness of pursuing Freedom in the abstract, Freedom as a *Big Minus*; they wanted Freedom *plus* all the values of life. It is, as this appreciation deepens, or we give an answer other than the ascetic one, that we shall be able to fight non-cooperation.

Turning now to the violent revolution, we find first this pursuit of abstract political freedom. The revolutionary does not care what sort of freedom he wants, so long as it is freedom. Whether it will make the last condition worse than the first, does not and cannot enter into his thoughts. There is, however, a second idea which is also present in both the forms of revolution. It is the belief that there must be destruction before there can be construction. The full belief, however, is something more—that after we construct, we must also destroy. [For the world is just a number of cyclical revolutions leading nowhere. What we call progress did not exist in ancient thought, both in the East and in the West.] But why? Because it would be sinful to pull down only what is valuable. But if we give no value to Appearance, then the sinfulness does not arise. The whole of the activity becomes thus a meaningless

sport, *leela* as it is called, and work becomes synonymous with destruction. It can easily be seen what an incentive to destruction for destruction's sake such a view can furnish us with. Further, if we bring God into it, and the conception that Reality transcends good and evil, and so He is *equally* in evil as in the good, we can understand how the anarchist came to think of himself as the sword arm of the Divinity carrying out His will in this world, regardless of our ideals of right and wrong. Couple also with all this the question of the Divinity being appeased by human sacrifice, and the conception of God pre-eminently as Power, or *Shakti*, and we have the full length picture of the causes of the havoc wrought in our history.


Where does all this take us? The first thing to notice is that between themselves both forms of the Revolution are struggling with the question: How shall we deal with those who have wronged us? The non-violent seems too anaemic in leaving Force out altogether; and the violent form demoniac in not limiting Force by moral considerations. We cannot turn away from God as Power, but that power is also Love, and this is the emphasis which the Mahatma has put in his creed of the Cross, winning over those who have wronged us by the suffering of love. The

second thing to notice is that if we are to be constructive in our pursuit of Freedom, we need more of *Anglicisation* and not less. Our assimilation of English Education and the values of English Government must not be skin deep. They must reach to the inner man and make literally new creatures of us, or the old will break out again and wreck us.*

* Reprinted from the *Leader* (Allahabad). Substance of a University Extra-Mural lecture. Hence the informal manner.

THE REVOLT OF YOUTH





What we call the Revolt of Youth is a worldwide phenomenon today, transcending distinctions of East and west. Everywhere Youth seems to be suffering from demoniac possession. The estrangement between youth and age, it is true, is a secular problem, and every generation has to solve it for itself. It is only when the parties fall very far apart and a reconciliation seems impossible, that we have a revolutionary epoch. One such we are facing to-day.

The present revolt has an Indian and a Western pedigree. The meeting of these two streams has given volume and intensity to it. On the Indian side, youth's losing of good manners synchronised with the rise of Political Extremism. We have yet to realise all the implications of the failure of constitutional agitation in our country. The Swadeshi Exhibition at Surat*, with its shoe throwing incident, advertised it to the world. Extremism was followed by Anarchism, and this, in its turn, by Non-Cooperation. Authority everywhere was challenged. It was felt in the home, the school, and the workshop alike. Today the elders have to

* The session of the Indian National Congress at Surat. 1908.

accept sorrowfully that whereas for them Parental authority had some meaning, it simply is unmeaning for their children. The equalitarian principle has triumphed and the *Pater familias* counts simply for one and not more than one. The same tale is retold in our educational institutions. It is quite a common thing to drag teachers and institutions into Courts of Law by aggrieved students, and for trades union principles to regulate the relations between teacher and taught. Outside help can always be counted on, at such times, to egg on students.

The result of such nurture and environment is that youth today is suffering from deficiency diseases. Certain salts are absent from its constitution. Youth looks within and around, but cannot look up. Reverence is missing from its composition. All the high lights are put out for him, and man from being a spiritual being has become a material creature; from being free has become determined. To talk of altruistic motives therefore influencing private or public conduct in individuals or peoples, is to court ridicule. Such mentality belongs to the Age of Faith which has receded for ever before the dawn of the Age of Reason. Whatever youth does not understand, or is incapable of understanding, is dubbed superstition. Calling names

passes for argument, and cocksureness demonstration. Man dethroned from a spiritual being to a material creature, two conclusions of great political importance follow. The first is, that force, and not argument, is the only thing that counts; and the second, that there is no such thing as one nation helping another. "Nations by themselves are made" is the slogan today. With the changed and degraded views of man and life, half-truths do duty for truths. The mutualities of life where the Other comes into the individual life and enriches it, without destroying or suppressing it, is a fact of complexity. It is understandable only in a world of free personalities and not of determined creatures. Physical and spiritual life have different categories of explanation.

The deterioration on Indian soil was bad enough, but it had to receive further heavy reinforcements from the parallel developement on European, in particular English soil. English life and literature had stood, in the early days of English education, for an uplifting moral ideal. They gave newer manners and purer laws to our Vernacular literature. But the foundations of English life and morals were getting sapped through the years. Processes, long at work, came to fruition and the results shocked even those who had worked

for them. To make the Great War the scapegoat for this eclipse of the higher life, as is usually done, is not fair. The causes go back to the Reformation. The Middle Ages had achieved a unity of life where moral and religious values were supreme. But the adjustment reached was not a perfect one and had to be broken up in the interests of a more stable one. In the event, we have jumped from the frying pan into the fire. The Middle Ages solution erred on the side of Authority, which became despotism, whereas ours has erred on the side of Freedom, landing us in anarchy. A stable equilibrium of Authority and Freedom is still to seek. Meantime the Revolt against Authority is complete, and we have gone on, in the vaunted name of Liberty, from Liberalism to Anarchism in politics, from Modernism (in the sense of anti-supernaturalism) to Materialism in religion, and from Sentimentalism to Licence in social life. History, in all branches, has recorded the Rake's Progress. The Great War precipitated the forces at work, did not create them. It only let loose the deluge which was gathering.

This European stream reaching us has muddied our waters further. It has tended, first, to sexual laxity. To talk of restraint in matters of sex is to suffer from a complex. The tables are turned, and we go now to the disordered

life to give us order and not *vice versa*. We go to the abnormal for wisdom, and our interests are pathological than physiological. Nowhere is this more evident than in Literature and Criticism. In the early days of English education, our new vernacular fiction had Scott as King. Today it is King Freud. The distance between Scott and Freud we have successfully covered, and now we converse, as to the manner born, in the new language of inhibitions, taboos and the *Ædipus complex*. The Art of Youth is the love of the Nude. We are all Greeks today. But can we be utterly Greeks in Art, without also being Greeks, first, in morals? Marriage and the family are to our new lights effete institutions. If they had the power, they would lead Humanity back again into the wilderness of promiscuity and trial-marriages, out of which we have painfully risen, as a result of rational selection. This orgiastic thinking and also living—for the two cannot be kept separated for ever—is defended in the name of frankness and adventure. Frankness is Youth's cardinal virtue, but so far it has spelt only insolence. Frankness is good, provided we practise it with reference to the whole Truth. To be frank with a part of Truth is to play false with ourselves and others. Frankness and Reserve can and do go together. They are contraries and not contradictories. As to adventurous living, of which

we hear so much today, it should be remembered that the method of trial and error is *a* way, and a very limited way, of finding out Truth. It is the vanity of Natural Science to make Induction the only means of Knowledge. Induction presupposes Intuition and Faith. We must begin with interest in Truth. For disinterestedness here would be a disqualification, and not a qualification, in the finding of it. An open mind is not a vacant mind. To test all things is an excellent maxim. But there are certain things this testing cannot deny without getting outside of and falling below the Truth of man. These things are structural, the moral and religious values of life. Adventure, to be constructive, has to be within their bounds and not outside.

It has, also, tended to increase the already existing belief of Youth in Force, as the only Saviour. The new dictatorships have shown what the power of the State can achieve over the individual. Here again it is a half-truth to which Youth has fallen victim. There are two centres of power, the individual and the State. Singly they can achieve little, together they can do much. Youth's disproportionate belief in State action follows from the fact that the freedom of the individual has no place in its thinking. The individual thus is the object and not the source of power. He

does not *become* good, but is *made* good. Man from a person becomes a creature, and force falls from the spiritual to the merely physical plane. The Russian Experiment is a large-letter writing of this transformation.

For Religion, Youth has no use. The sins of religion are all that it knows, the sins of irreligion it illustrates in its life and thought. 'Religion an opiate' is a subject on which it can grow eloquent, and with some justice, it should be added. But Materialism also, it should be remembered, has its opiates and miracles even. Youth has bartered God for Lenin, and believes in a Resurrection through the gateway of Revolution. "Let us but destroy, and somehow the New Life will spring up" is Youth's cry. Pathetic is such belief in the inevitability of Resurrection! Only belief in some impersonal, Materialistic Force, could account for such a conviction.

The situation is dark. But all is not lost. Something still survives from the general wreck. Youth has given up God. But heroworship still survives, and Youth is prepared to make the great sacrifice in following the Leader of its choice. Here we have the explanation for the present drift towards dictatorships. The times are out of joint. Tinkering cannot strike the imagination of Youth. Give it some

big thing to be done, and, what is more, give it the consciousness that it has a place, however humble, in the planning and the executing of it, Youth perchance will still listen. The harnessing of the energies of Youth to constructive work is the greatest task awaiting statesmanship today.

The central problem however is : how to put back Restraint in the whole of life, after it has been altogether banished from it. In this work we should expect help from three quarters.

The first is : Government and our political leaders. It is idle to expect social peace with political unrest all around us. Disturbance in one sphere will mean disturbance in another. If therefore the health of Youth is to be kept in view, then Government and political leaders should be eager to settle their differences by peaceful means, at all costs. Otherwise Youth would be inevitably drawn into the struggle and there would be broken lives and embittered souls.

The second quarter from which help can come includes our social leaders and people in high places. These can do much to present an example of the life of restraint. If Youth today is asking the question " what's the harm ? "

about sexual laxity, it is largely because the older generation has given the impression that one can have the best of both worlds. It would not do for us to resent such criticism by exclaiming "what's it to them?" In fact, it is everything to them. Youth will be brutally frank and ask that precepts be backed up by example. Further, we cannot be politically loyal and sexually anarchic. Such stunts are not possible for long. The sections of life have to be unified sooner or later. If we want to be law-abiding at one point, we have to be law-abiding at all points : is the moral here. What is needed is a new wave of Puritanism, a new passion for the integrated life to sweep through all ranks of society and all grades of age. If health is to return, we must practise the asceticism of the eye and the ear more. Also there has to be a complete reorientation of our attitude to women. As a people, and it should be a matter of pride, our attitude towards women is a very correct one. But we have had to do so far, largely, with the veiled variety. The unveiled woman, who adds such colour to New India, throws us entirely off our guard, and the incontinent admiration we thrust on her is very crude and primitive. The old inhibitions have to be given a new direction, and attitudes juster to ourselves remain to be built up. In another direction our ideas need drastic revision. In all societies, at all times,

we have a certain restriction put on intermarriage, the philosophy of it being that a measure of cultural equality is necessary for marital happiness. Giving full credit for such intentions, we have also to remember that there will always be found people who would risk Fortune to pioneer the bounds of a new society. To treat such pilgriming spirits with stiff correctitude would be to alienate them altogether. Such cases should merit, instead, our anxious sympathy. Today young people have more chances of meeting each other than their parents had; old divisions are losing their meaning; and, provided intentions are honourable and the fullest liberty is assured to individual convictions, a forward policy in this matter would not discredit our cautiousness. What is necessary is that Youth's short term conceptions of marriage have to be replaced by long term ones and the institution of marriage has to be anchored more in the deeps than the shallows of human nature.

The third and last quarter from which help should come would be the vast body of teachers in our institutions of all grades (school, college and university). Here we are dealing with people under a sense of vocation and we have the right to demand much. We cannot afford to make over the teaching of young minds to a class of Sophists. We

might as well face frankly, then, the turning over our institutions into seminaries for the teaching of vice instead of virtue. Intellectual brilliance is a fine thing. But the brilliance which is not welded to character is a brief not a steady light. If reverence is to be implanted in Youth, then our educators should be something more than disseminators or even discoverers of knowledge, important as these are. Personality should be put first, and Knowledge should be its servant and not master. The universities everywhere have been the homes of movements which have changed the face of things. Would it be too much to expect that there would originate a movement from the heart of our universities which would take note of changing conditions as they face Youth, and stand for a New Way of Living ? Such a day, when it comes, would be a red letter day in our annals. Talking of the way of living, reminds one of the style of living, and the very extravagant standards adopted by Youth *in statu pupillari*. But is Youth altogether to be blamed for this ? Do not the elders have their share in the responsibility here ? Have we not ourselves adopted a standard out of all proportion to the country's level ? We cannot reform Youth without reforming ourselves first. We have forgotten that simplicity can go with dignity and that vulgar ostentation is not enjoyment. It is difficult, for

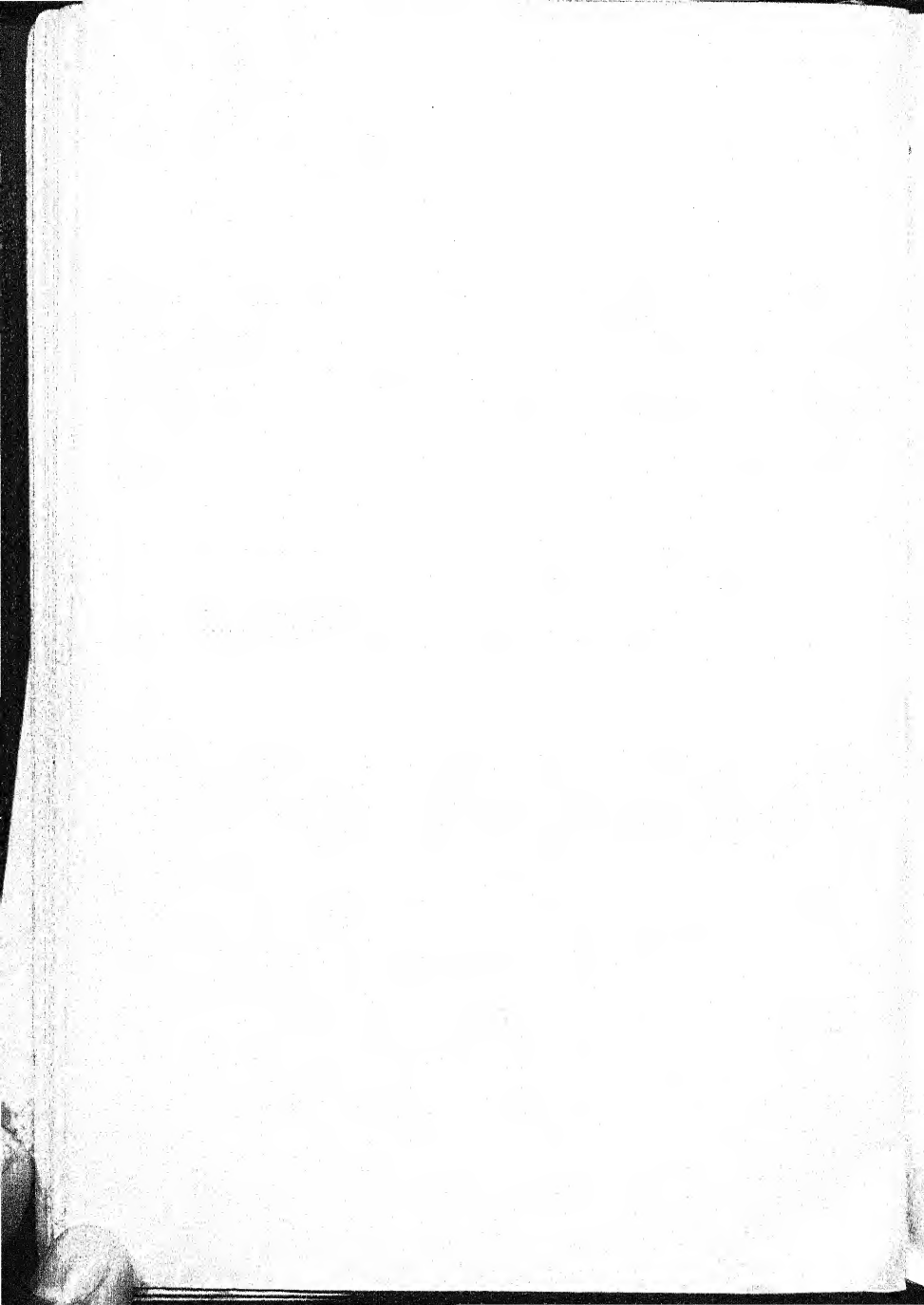
example, to pick one's way through a modern drawing room without stumbling, so littered over with furniture it is. It is a case of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children, with this difference, that it is with compound interest.


All this is up-hill work. But it has to be attempted, or we perish. "Easy is the descent of Avernus...But to retrace your foot steps, and safely reach the upper air, this is the task, this the struggle."*

* *Æneid* : Bk. VI. Lonsdale and Lee.

COMMUNISM :

THE FAITH OF YOUTH





Gandhism had a short Indian summer, but today Communism is largely the faith of Youth. What exactly Communism is, it is not easy to define. It is more a spirit, capable of varied and often times very contradictory formulations, with Christian Social Thought at one end, and the Police and Red Moscow variety at the other. An Indian edition of it is, however, under order. Whatever its composition and inspiration, it is bound to have a rich deposit of Gandhism in it, taking from it, even while being dialectically developed against it. The Intelligent Young Man today has his Red Library, and is at home in the Canonical books of the Faith.

More than the definition of Communism, it is important for the understanding of our problem: how Youth has come to think communistically? The fact is that Youth, we mean educated Youth, is without prospect of bread today, unless protected by influence, inherited wealth, or the virtue of the competitive machine, which has succeeded to the Car of Juggernaut, in our devotions today.

The world is for the few, not for the many. Youth cannot begin today where their fathers began. If fortunate

enough, they have to begin much lower down and have to have much higher qualifications. For the fathers, education was a passport, for the children it is a disadvantage leading to nowhere. These young men have been taught to think they are 'unwanted'. Year after year that infallible test of Genius, the Competitive Examination, calls them to its halls to read their horoscopes and pronounce judgment; and year after year the condemned many go down with the old gladiatorial cry on their lips : *Ave, Caesar, morituri te salutant*.* Supermen alone can live; it is a sub-human existence for the many. Not the Galilaean but Neitzsche rules our thought and practice here.

But the trouble is that the unfit are the many. They have the weight of numbers, on their side, are educated, perhaps semi-educated, and refuse to take the judgment on them as final. India is too big a country to be peopled by geniuses alone, and a pyramidal structure ill fits in with the trappings of a democratic state.

This, however, might be thought to be a capitulation to the mediocre. The question however is : Is it ? What do we make of the equality of man ? Or, has the category dropped

* Hail, Caesar, men doomed to die salute thee !

out of our currency? Differences one can understand, but not big enough to break the unity of man. The differences have to be within the bond of equality and not without. The second and third rate men are not geniuses, but they have not ceased to be human beings. It is because the present order has strained the difference to the breaking point that a new order is necessary. We have overestimated the brilliance of our so-called geniuses, and also underestimated the potentialities of our so-called ordinary men. If we would remember this, we would not be so ready to excommunicate, with candle, book and bell, any one, congenital idiots of course excepted, from the chances of getting a University education, on the score of unfitness. We will find then that quality and quantity are not incommensurable terms and we would have answered the question that caring for the mediocre was but to lower the standard of efficiency. It is only on a basis like this can we have the hope for a true democracy as against a veiled oligarchy, though we might soften it by calling it an aristocracy of intellect. Education breathes a liberal air. It does not depreciate man, but believes in him. The great Educators see no contradiction between ordinary man and efficiency.

While the educated classes are struggling to secure a 'fair living', with the masses it is a question of a 'bare

living'. Between them, thus, has been raised the whole issue : whether man is for the system or the system for man. The situation requires not individual amelioration. It has got beyond that. It needs mass improvement, and that quickly. Delay spells danger. Many are pinning their faith on an industrial development. This, in the first place, is one of the big 'ifs' and, secondly, no planned production will help which is not supplemented by planned distribution as well. The heart of the social question is juster distribution of wealth.

Youth has lost nerve. It has lost heart and hope as to the willingness of their elders, who had happier times for themselves, mobilising forces on their behalf. Power has to be wrested first, irrespective of the character of those using it, and the ends to which it is put, be it remembered, if at all anything is to be got done. This is the conviction to which Youth has settled down. It is the Gospel of Despair !

We will have to break through all records and think in new categories, if we are to be of any help here. It should be possible to organise and finance on an India-wide scale a corps of social servants, men and women who would live on a basis of sharing, and experiment in simpler living. They should not be exploited by being asked to live the

ascetic life on the zero scale. On the other hand, a moderate standard of an educated man's life, not very lavish nor very meagre, should be ensured them. Adequate medical aid, facilities for proper education of children, protection in old age, should be made available to them. They should further have every chance of keeping up their intellectual life and increasing their experience in every possible way, so that the country would get their very best. Within the bounds of such a service, there will be room enough and to spare for all the educated unemployed. We can thus turn a disaster into an opportunity.

When one thinks of the amount of work that has to be done in the nation-building departments, the utter inadequacy of the existing attempts and their rate of progress, and, further, the utter impossibility of our finding more money for them in our present or future budgets, one feels that this unemployment has come to us to shake us out of our complacent grooves and make us prospect for newer ways of living and work. We have satisfied ourselves so far by criticising the Government for it, and asking for adjustments impossible at present. And now when we have the human material whereby we can correct the defect, we do not know how to utilise it. Some of us are even bewildered

by the numbers. India needs not less but more highly educated men, if her problems are to be adequately tackled and her great life modernised.

To us, who swear by Law and Order, Loyalists, Reformists *et hoc genus omne* the realisation must come that Constitutionalism cannot be saved without the paying of a price. And the price in this case is to put our hands in our pockets and furnish the wherewithal for such an organisation, which will adequately meet "Educated unemployment." We all must bear our share in it. The man with the fixed salary, the professional man, the landlord, the businessman, the industrialist, and the rest. If we do not have money for this, we shall have money before long for the restraining of destructive activities, for jails and detention camps. Government as the maintainer of Law and Order should be the first body to be interested in the raising of such a fund, and its wheels should move faster than usual. The Government and the Devil are running a race to capture Youth. Can Government put worth-while work in the way of the unemployed? or Is the Devil to function in the matter?

It is bad husbandry for the elders to let the generation of youth go to waste. The economic order which is crushing

them has given us positions. We are the beneficiaries of the system and they the victims. It does not lie in our mouth, therefore, to preach to them. We can afford to be moral and religious. We are paid for it. Would we have talked and behaved the way we are doing, if positions had been reversed? Ours, they thus feel, is interested propaganda. As a matter of fact, Religion for us is on the periphery and needs to be central. The only way in which we can prevent the present moral and spiritual rot in Youth and promote recovery is by giving an arresting demonstration of our willingness to find work for them, by organising *e.g.* a body as sketched above. Anything short of it being but adding insult to injury. Their cynicism will thaw only before the warmth of the generous deed. And it is only when they will be up against the practicalities of Reconstruction that they will be weaned from fruitless criticism and questionable activities.

Any outlay on a body of workers, like the one envisaged, will be more than paid back in eventual increase in wealth, peace and contentment. Such a body, besides, will give a new turn to our thoughts and help society to swing finally, by peaceful evolution, from its present acquisitive to the contributive basis. Most of the changes we now

desiderate will then become easier. The salaries of the services would more naturally scale down in such an environment; the people would be unified and we shall thus become fitter for taking up the defence of our country; and this will reduce considerably the present high military expenditure. All this cannot happen in a day, but they will be brought about quicker than at our present snail pace. It is as the impression gets abroad that problems are being tackled and not jettisoned or pushed to the Greek Calends that confidence will reappear and our outlook become realistic.

Next to the Government, the body that should be interested in promoting a scheme like this is our Universities. They have been the sinews of our progress. But with changing conditions they have fallen on evil times and evil tongues. They are the butt of every wit in the country. The emphasis now has shifted from University to Primary Education, and University budgets are being cut down to finance it. It is a case of either-or. The only way to overcome the dilemma is to connect the University and the Primary Education needs, through an organisation of University men, as suggested here. Our Universities, if they are to live, will have to change their set ways and adapt them-

selves to the changed environment. Then only they will be able to tap the financial resources of the country, by appealing to its imagination as solving her practical problems and not merely theoretical ones, however important these be. The Universities might take a leaf here from the Lindsay Report* and realise that the only way in which to keep their primacy is to take a more direct interest in meeting the needs of the underprivileged, establish contacts with the villages and promote literacy and adult education, organise the production of popular reading and make it worthwhile for University men to be employed in such activities. In Modern India we do not have a class of men answering to the Christian clergy, who, in the West, do a great deal of social work in a missionary spirit. It should be the aim of the Universities to create out of their products such a class of Social Servants for us. Universities should not merely talk of the Common Good, important though that be, but help in the creation of a society where it is practised, and not add one more class—an educated class—to our existing plethora of classes. Our Universities must take the Moral Life more under its charge and be distinguished exponents of it. If we cannot have religious beliefs, let us at least

* Report on Christian Higher Education in India, under the chairmanship of Dr. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol.

have the religious deeds, or the cause of discipline and the influence of Youth would be lost. We shall then reduce ourselves to the status of fossil and curio hunters and not be, what we should, the servants of the people. Further, the Universities should not confine themselves only to the prize boys. They certainly make excellent game cocks. Advancement of Knowledge is a fine thing, but the Advancement of Man is better. The two however are not mutually exclusive. The Gracious Mother should not be stepmotherly to the ordinary student. But, on the other hand, should take pride in raising the general level, changing the assinine to the equine virtues. Otherwise Universities would play into the hands of Reaction, and Divine Philosophy become procuress to the Lords of Hell. If the ordinary and the extraordinary man could be locked together in an essentially cooperative order, the Kingdom of Heaven would have come on earth, and Communism would have lost its terrors. But the first step towards it should be to give a practical illustration of it within our present Capitalistic system. What seems immediately practicable we have outlined. The *Status quo* cannot indefinitely continue. The fateful choice is between Construction and Destruction.

Was have so far concerned ourselves with how Youth

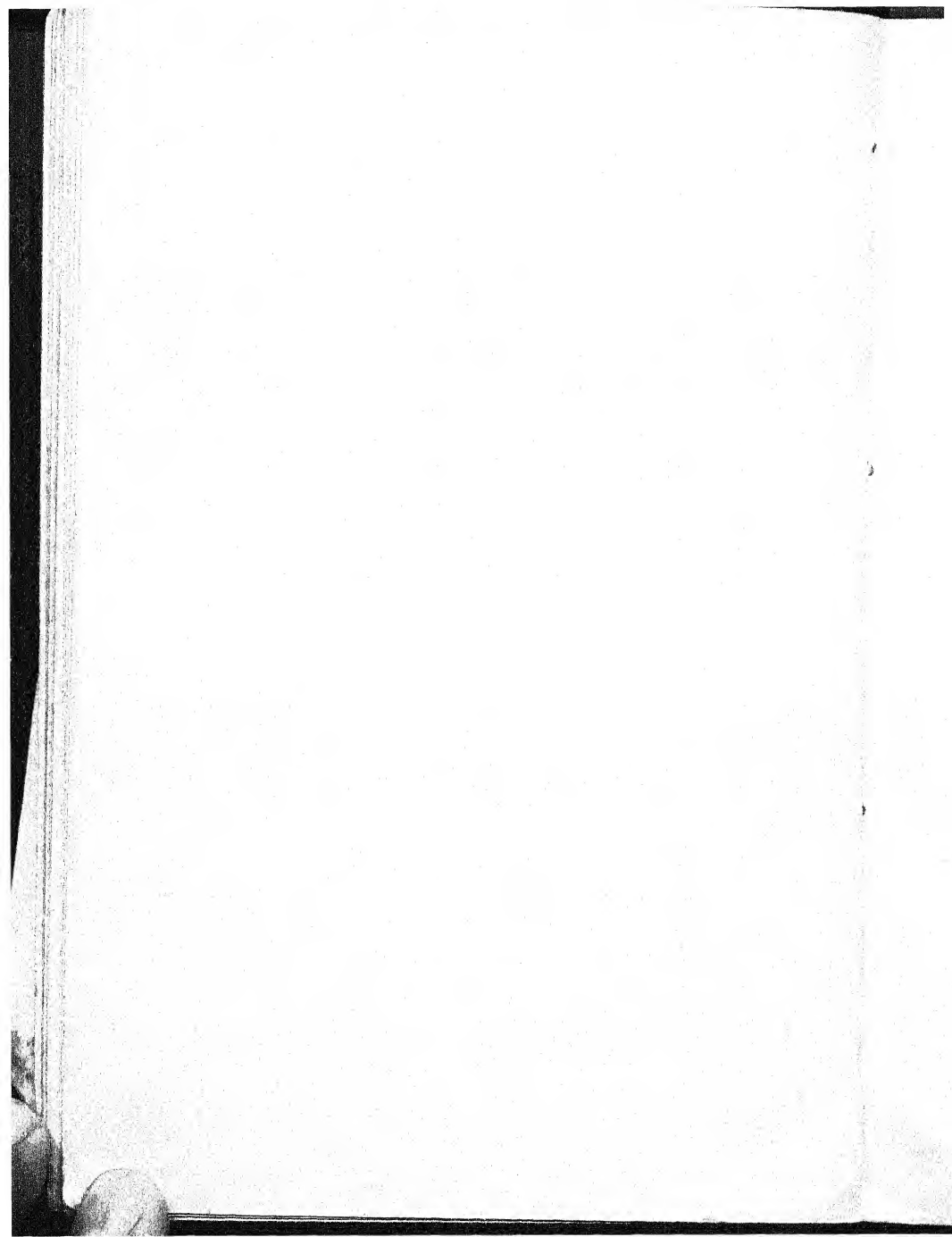
has come to think communistically. We have done it because we feel that no criticism of Communism can be valid which does not furnish the response to the element of truth in it. Having attempted this, we are free to point out what seem its shortcomings.

Leaving the consideration of its dialectic for a later page,* we shall make the following observations. Communism strikes us as an inverted form of Religion. It seeks to establish the Kingdom of God on earth by force, and force alone—a contradiction in terms. Its unbelief in God makes for unbelief in Man. Man is by nature selfish and he has to be made to act unselfishly. As he cannot change, so the only way to make him is to break him. Human beings thus have to be reduced to automata. Communism has no place for the individual and therefore for the family. The Whole has devoured the Part. The individual being denied all worth, we are introduced into a deterministic world, and made the play of forces outside of us. Good and evil lose their meaning, for relativity is everything and the Absolute standard nowhere. As neither thinking nor living is possible without allowing for the Absolute, we find here a discrepancy between theory and practice in Communism.

* Pp 39 and ff.

In practice, Communism has its Absolute, and it is the State. The State is supra moral and supra everything. What we arrive at is thus a Slave State. We have not gone up, but down. We should however remember that the Indian version of Communism has every chance of evolving a distinctness of its own. It will not be the original brand, for it will be a cross between Gandhism and Marxism. So at least it seems, judging by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's evolution. He wants the Russian fruit without the Russian blood. He allows for individual conversion, and is not against the family or even private property, properly defined. All this seems a long way from strict Scientific Socialism.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION ?



The Revolutionary temper has found a lodgment amongst us. Its principal roots are in our world-view and thought, and present discontent has been fed by them. The belief in history as cyclic and, what we might call dialectic evolution, are the two focii round which this revolutionary thinking turns. The dialectic evolution stands for progress through extremes, or, as the slogan puts it, "Destruction before Construction." All history and progress is thus interpreted through strife. Strife sits enthroned in the centre. But this dialectic is an interpretation based on a world-view which is expressed in the cyclic theory of history. The cyclic theory tells us that there is *ultimately* no progress, and good and evil in this world finally cancel each other out; that as surely as evil ascends to the good in the empirical sphere, so surely good declines to evil. Good when at the top cannot keep its level and continue growing, because Ultimate Reality has no relation to it, being beyond good and evil. States on this theory, decline after a certain point of prosperity has been reached. For the wheel has to come round full circle. The old has no power of rejuvenation, and so the Law of Life destroys it, to bring the new organism to birth. Revolution plays the

midwife. In this world-view, the Life Impulse is equated with mere Power, and not goodness. This explains the Revolutionary's failure to be squeamish over the methods he uses.

This was the view of Plato and of our Seers. It was born out of the womb of the featureless pantheistic Whole and gives statutory recognition to Revolution. The only way to break away from this cyclic theory is to demonstrate the eternal youth of the State. We have to show that it has the power to receive new ideals and can make new adjustments with comparative quickness than dilatoriness; that Time is of the essence of the matter and not a bagatelle. It is good to talk, in its place, of "the inevitability of gradualism"*, but it is better not to stop there. Progress is both gradual and saltatory. We must get hold of both sides of the Truth or get fixated in error. Evolution is Emergent, a rising to new levels. Breaks are consistent with Unity. A failure to see this has held up Indian Reform considerably.

The difference between the Reformist and the Revolutionary mentality is not a denial of big change or a readiness for it, on the part of the former. It centres round the question of relating this to the past. The Reformist wants

* Given currency by the Simon Report.

continuity, whereas the Revolutionist seeks a complete breakaway; it not being a case with the latter, as the former, to carry the old values into the new order. Such a demand sets up a corner in Truth, and reduces itself to an essay in lunacy.

It is a commonplace of Revolutionary Faith that in fighting the Government, we shall grow strong. And appeals are made to unite our scattered communities against what is called the Third Party. To talk like this may be true upto a certain point. But we cannot think of the parties as absolutely separate in their interests. The Third Party is already in us and has become a great part of us, by giving us newer manners and purer laws. To fight it would be to fight ourselves, perhaps our better part. It will be seeking the Freedom of Self-Immolation. Today we are called to be a part of an Anti-Imperialist Rally. Does it strike us that the best way to fight Imperialism is to attach ourselves to the British brand of it? For, it is this that shows most flexibility of growth into a higher relationship between rulers and ruled. We do not think we would want to know other brands at nearer quarters, or prefer, in our lucid moments, Pre-British forms of Indian Government. It is true we do entertain the belief that left to ourselves we would somehow

have attained to a higher status. This, however, is one of the pathetic beliefs we entertain because of our world-view, where human history is the play of an impersonal Force, and results happen without our doing things.

We do not wish to minimise the sins of omission and commission of British Rule in India. History would be the first to say that all the pluses are not on one side, nor all the minuses, on the other. But after all necessary deductions, the balance will and must incline in favour of British Rule as a great civilising and humanising agency in India.

Our fathers believed in the British connection as a Providential Dispensation. We, the children, talk of it in terms of exploitation. Each side is correct in what it affirms, and wrong in what it denies. For the earlier generations, English education was the golden key that opened every door. The present generation is feeling more and more the fangs of the competitive order in the framework of which all life is set. So the world falls readily for it into two classes, the exploiter and the exploited. But the right view is the synoptic one here, *viz.* not to ignore the virtues of British Rule, and also not to forget the severity of the twin problems of Poverty and Unemployment facing us. A pair of good bifocals will help the vision both of ruler and ruled

here. Our age has resolved man into sex, on one theory, and into money (economics) on another. Following the latter tendency, we have accustomed ourselves to think of the relation between England and India as a cash nexus. It certainly is that, but also something more. For wherever man is concerned, the cash nexus gets overlaid by human values. Without holding a brief for the integrity and incorruptitude of every Englishman who has eaten of the salt of India, one can freely say that as a body of men they have shown, within the context of mixed motives, a high sense of devotion to duty and to India. Not only this, but, further, that there are Englishmen, and their breed is not happily extinct, who consider that the Empire was given them to bring its different races together and prove the unity of man. It is on this streak of idealism, in a very matter-of-fact people, that we must bank, for the improvement of our relationships. This makes always possible an appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.

There is of course the other side of the medal, as we have indicated. Sir Edward Blunt* points out how 10 p. c. of the *I. C. S.* (he calls it a large number) refused to work the earlier Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. These had to

* In his book "*The I. C. S.*".

be given special pensions (Proportionate pensions) that they could retire before their time. And those who stayed back had to be humoured with large allowances and concessions, called the Lee concessions. The politically minded Indian could perhaps be pardoned if he feels that there is a limit to the buying of cooperation. John Morley, as Secretary of State, always emphasised before the Civil Service probationers the duty of good manners towards the Indian. Such sermons are still necessary, though there has been a great improvement through the years. One recalls, in this connection, the prejudice which the Britisher entertains to get his womenfolk treated by fully qualified Indian medical men. The prejudice is bad enough, being an unmerited slur on a body of very able Indian officers. But the administrative consequence of the prejudice is still more unfortunate. For it means that all the big medical districts have to be officered by British medical men and the Indian in the service has to be discriminated against. A terrible emphasis is being laid today on India's not being able to do without the services of the very best of English men. But it is not also being pointed out that the best service will have to be rendered on cheaper terms than ever, if India's need is to be met. Though the New Act has shut the door to it, the better mind of England will have to face the problem of doing

philanthropy with lower dividends. The Palmerstonian canon of Philanthropy *plus* four percent will need revising downwards. This, however, we should not forget, is a world-problem and not confined to any one people or their relations.

In this tossed world of ours, the British Empire is the only rock standing firm, witnessing to the free way of life. We are not forgetting the Anti-Indian and All-White policy of the Dominions and the Colonies. Liberty of thought and speech, with temporary aberrations, are to be found only within its borders. To work against it would be suicidal for India. To stand by it would be not only to serve our interests, but the cause of Humanity. The words which the Mahatma used when he turned Recruiting Sergeant for the Empire, during the Great War, still have their value, though they do not represent anymore his position on the matter. They would bear reproduction in this connection. "When partnership in the Empire was India's definite goal it was clearly the duty of every Indian to suffer for the Empire, even to lay down his life for the defence of the Empire. If the Empire perishes, with it will perish our cherished aspirations. As long as Indians will have to look to English men for their defence and cannot

defend themselves, India will not be regarded as the equal partner of the Empire along with Englishmen. Indians must learn the use of arms and the easiest and straightest way therefore to win *Swarajya* is to participate in the defence of the Empire and if the war is won with the help of India's Army, it is obvious that the rights she wants cannot be denied. Some will say that if we do not secure those just now, we would be cheated of them afterwards. To distrust the Statesmen of the Empire is to distrust our own strength. It is a sign of our own weakness. We should not depend for our rights on the goodness or the weakness of Statesmen. We should depend on our fitness and our strength. If we want *Swarajya* it is our duty to help the Empire and we shall undoubtedly get the reward of the help. If our motive is honest, the Government will behave honestly with us.*

Britain, however, cannot rest on her oars, so far as her work in India is concerned. She has to finish her unfinished tasks. Two of these we shall mention here. The first is the creation of a unified or a democratic society for India, and the second, the creation of a National Army for her.

* Recruiting appeal to the people of Khaira, June 1918. From Majumdar's "Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule 1821-1918."

We should remember that Britain's present experiment in India is to work a democratic constitution for a society which is not democratic. For this anomaly, people and Government alike, we fear, are responsible. But given the present situation, it was right for Parliament to make the securing of communal justice a Governor's special charge. Communal justice is in Politics what Protection is in Economics for infant industries. Protection is given that it might be withdrawn betimes and not continued for ever. If we remain nursery babies all our lives, the Nurse's job certainly will be sure, but it will do little credit to her management and training. The success of communal justice will be measured by the speed and the success with which the several communities can be transcended and transmuted in the life of the Nation. The Governor's charge is thus a dual one. Communal justice is *interim etbik*, and nation-making the final one.

Anglo-Indian administrators have told us *ad nauseam* that we are not a People, because there is no interdining and intermarriage. Now is their chance to come to our help and see that matters are put right. Britain should give us a common Civil Law, as she has given us a common Criminal Law. All that keeps the communities apart will have to be gone into and legislated against. Intermarriage, in its

widest form, would have to be legalised and not penalised, as at present. Marriage should be safeguarded by being made monogamous. Interdining also will have to be promoted. Communal eating-houses will have to be discouraged; also the Hindu and the Islami (Mohammadan) *cha* (tea) of our Railway platforms. We cannot cry out against the discrimination of English or Colonial hotels, or of dance houses (if we are so minded), and permit the same things in the homeland. A change of skies should not change our minds. Two questions waiting immediate attention are, first, how to make the Sarda Act more operative, and, secondly, the substituting in the New Act of "joint electorates, with reservations" for the present "special electorates". Unless the foundational nation-making questions are tackled, the New Reforms bid fair to be a tragicomedy. Is Parliament in discharge of its special responsibility going to treat the symptoms only or the disease? To stop at the first would be quackery; to go on to the second, statesmanship.

It would be objected, at the threshold, that social reform legislation is the work of the people and their representatives in the New Legislatures, than of the Governor or Parliament. This, however, is to befog the situation with words and throw us off the scent. The question is of

a big major change, putting a society on the rails which has gone off them. The power therefore cannot come from within that society, but from without it. It is a question of a higher conscience, and votes cannot give us that. It has to be imposed from without, from above, for the self to be called out from within, in expression. Parliament and the British administration represent this higher conscience for us, and their responsibility cannot be shoved on to other shoulders. Great social changes are brought about by individual conversion, and by compulsion of the State. Individual conversion has done its work and has given us our reformed Samajes and churches, and in Indian Islam, the movement associated with the name of Sir Syed Ahmed, of honoured memory. We have thus got modernisation of groups, but not of the whole mass. This has to be done by the State, in the sense of the wielders of ultimate authority; in our case the British Parliament and the British authority in India. This is the lesson of all history and peoples, the British included. England has got her common mind and common values as a result of the compulsive force of the education and discipline of the Christian Church. Individual conversion alone could not have given her this. And without the use of the Kingly authority, she would not have had her Reformation and the New State. Sir P. C. Rama-

swamy Iyer, the talented Dewan of Travancore, has put his finger on the right spot when he speaks of the King as having the right to initiate a new epoch.* It is not a question of Force *versus* Consent. It is rather a question of Force calling out the consent, lying dormant otherwise, within the soul of man. This is the explanation of the present drift towards dictatorships, Liberal doctrinairism notwithstanding. There is the legislation which educates, as there is the legislation which only expresses and records the prevalent view. We need the first more today, to give value to the second.

To support our position, further, we can call in the evidence of British Rule in India itself. Britain's contribution to the creation of New India has been through the *imposition* of her ideals on our people. Western education, medicine, the Indian Penal Code are from without first, and not within. The abolition of Suttee and the enforcing of the Age of Consent were not the work of the Old Pundits, but of the New. There were believers in "the inevitability of gradualism" before the Simon Report, who suggested

* Quoted from the *Shastras* in a Madras University Lecture. Said with reference to Travancore's Anti-Untouchability drive.

that we should trust to time to bring about gradually the abolition of Sutte by the people themselves, as they got more enlightened. Fortunately the man at the helm had a stouter heart and a keener mind, and Bentinck, after making sure of the loyalty of the Bengal Army, published his great charter of freedom for India's women, and enforced it.

Britain in India, however, after putting her hand to the plough (of reforming Indian Society) has looked back and called a halt to this nation-making work of hers. Various explanations have been offered for this change. One is : " Funk ". " A violent campaign against this measure* was headed ", writes Lord Newton, " by the notorious agitator Tilak, and the opposition aroused was so strong and persistent that no subsequent Governments have ever dared to deal with the question ". We would hesitate to put such an explanation, were it not by the biographer of Lord Lansdowne, who was responsible for the passing of the measure. Our interpretation, however, is somewhat different. Britain's earlier social legislation in India was largely influenced by the Evangelical movement, and the old British officials themselves largely held the Evangelical faith. However crudely they might have sometimes expressed

* The Age of Consent Act.



themselves, this faith ensured a common destiny for man, and it was expressed in the iconoclastic reforming zeal which devoured them. As the English spiritual climate changed, with the rise, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, of Physical Science and Naturalistic Evolution, it reflected itself in the life and belief of the British officers and their governance of India. Under Naturalistic influence, 'man' and 'humanity' were considered abstractions. 'Men' only were real, with characteristics different from each other. The backward races were a different species altogether from the advanced ones, and the gap could not be bridged. 'Superior' and 'inferior' were Nature's stamp on races. It was this belief in the mission of the higher race that found expression in "The White Man's Burden" and made the reading of Kipling impossible for patriotic Indians, without the aid of strong expletives. It was a world of biologically determined organisms and not free individuals. Everything was necessary, and in place, and 'good' and 'evil' were only relative terms. The question of changing social customs or outgrowing them, therefore, did not arise. They, instead, had to be preserved if the life of the organism was not to be endangered. The categories of 'progress' and "unity of man" dropped out of this biological thinking, along with belief in the objectivity of values.

Agnosticism had done its work with disastrous results for the destiny of the Indian Empire of England. The Transcendental Agnosticism of the East and the Naturalistic Agnosticism of the West met together on Indian soil and the Old and the New Pundits joined forces to keep our effete institutions alive; otherwise, the Natural History Museum which we were would go out of the map, with great loss to the world's picturesqueness and its knowledge of man. This "Natural History Museum view" has done untold mischief to us, and has been the direct result of making man a part of the zoological kingdom. No alleviation of the situation is possible without the English official's return to faith in objective values, the unity of man, and progress.* When that day comes, as come it must, we shall have the Virgilian lines applied to our present-day Romans, with an amplitude of meaning and a deeper ring than it has been possible to do so far :

Hae tibi erunt artes : pacisque imponere morem.

Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.†

* Baron von Hugel put down Sir Alfred Lyall's agnosticism to his Indian experience in the former's undelivered Gifford Lectures.

† Let these be your arts; to enforce the maintenance of peace, to spare the submissive, and crush in war the proud. *Aeneid*, Bk. VI. Lonsdale and Lee.

To such an Imperialism, such a White Man's Burden, we all, black and white, will be able to look up with pride.

This making of a people out of communities is also necessary if India is going to be trained to defend herself. The British Indian army is not a national army. It has added one more division, *viz.* that between martial and non-martial races, in this land of divisions. The question will have to be faced how to bring the latter up to the standard of the former, and how to make the people as a whole military minded. This problem has been faced by Japan and Germany, in their respective measures. We have to face it, now that Britain has envisaged Indian Freedom.

Here again the initiative has to come from without. It has to be a super-imposition, if Britain's work in India is not to remain incomplete. Not to attempt the task and twit us over our helplessness in the matter of defence is not to play fair. Indianisation of the officer class is very important, but this work of making a people is prior to that and more important. For till we are a people, the British control of the Indian army and the presence of British regiments, will be necessary to keep the balance between our several peoples. If we think that we are to do the ruling under the Dominion form of government,

and the British army (Indian and non-Indian) is to do the defending for us, we are sadly mistaken. The British army will not be used as a mercenary one. All roads thus lead to the Rome of creating a common society first, making India a nation. This is the immediate task for Indian Freedom.

There are passages in the history of the British Indian army which indicate how we should set about this task. The following extract is from Sir Henry Lawrence's "*Essays, Military and Political, written in India*" p. 425. "Some people will say that Brahmins will not act with low-caste men. We happen to know better. In the Bombay army Sweeper subadars command Brahmin sepoys. We ourselves have seen Bheels and Meenas, Grassias and Pathans, Aheers and Rajpoots, all shoulder to shoulder, all working well and amicably together, notwithstanding that the first two tribes eat carrion, and are classed little, if at all, above Mehturs. We are aware that such arrangements are only to be carried out by tact and determination. In a certain Bheel corps the Grassias and others combined to refuse to salute the first Bheel who was promoted to the rank of a subadar. The commanding officer, having seated the Bheel on a chair by his side, called in the whole company, asked each individual his intentions, ordered him to salute the Bheel and pass on.

The Hindustanis did so; three Grassias refused. On the instant they were discharged. There was no more hesitation; the Bheel subadar ever afterwards was duly obeyed." This, however, is a picture of the past and not the present. British military policy records a retrogression today.

Much water has flown under since the Age of Consent agitation. The times are more propitious. There are forces working for Hindu-Mohammadan unity and Harijan uplift. The Zenana, like the Bastille, has fallen. Youth, further, is waiting to be mobilised. The function of the State remains : to organise these scattered forces and direct them to the promised land; to allure to brighter worlds and *lead* the way. The Government has to choose between sitting like a god, surveying all creeds and holding none; and accepting these new forces as its creation, and deciding to work from within them. Time was when Britain had the moral leadership in India. There is no reason why she should not have it again and bind the two countries in a deeper union than ever.

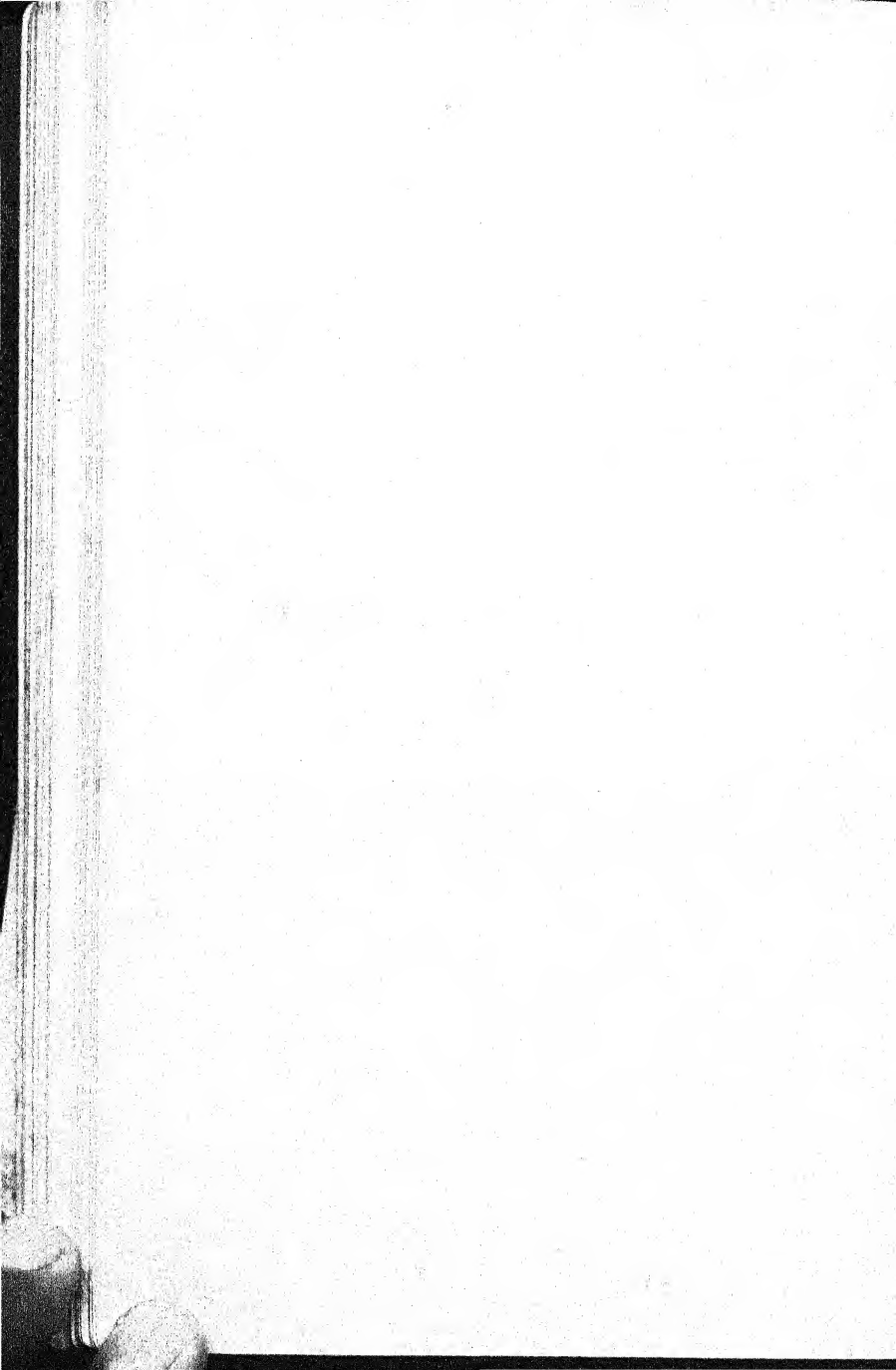
While the State cannot escape its responsibility, we cannot escape ours either. The biggest task for our intellectuals is to furnish a basis for the new life of political development which British education and government have opened up to us.

How far can we carry this superstructure on our old ideas ? is the question here. We have tried patching of new cloth on the old garment. But that is disastrous. This has given our dual life, a mediaeval society and modern professions. This is how Indian nationalism is suspect today. We talk of the nation, but have not really got beyond caste, or at most the community; and the highest use of *pax Britannica* we have made is to turn India into a cockpit of communal fury.

This life needs an affirmation of faith in man and human progress. Can we deliver the goods here ? There are many capable minds at work reconstructing our philosophy. It is a pleasure for a member of a department of studies to refer to the work of his Head in this connection. Prof. Ranade* has pointed out how this new philosophy is to be built on the twin affirmations (1) that knowledge of the Subject is possible and (2) that Reality is not beyond good and evil. There is no other foundation but this, if our national life is to be salvaged and if we are not to be swallowed again by the great Serbonian bog (of Pantheism) in which armies whole have sunk.

* Head of the Department of Philosophy, Allahabad University, in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* (Allen and Unwin).

**RELIGION IN REVOLUTIONARY
INDIA**



Not words but deeds! Thus a Revolutionary Age dismisses summarily religion from its bar. The judgement though a harsh one is not without its basis of truth.

The charges against religion are that it is opium; the friend of the powerful and the oppressor of the weak; the supporter of the *status quo* and the enemy of progress.

Examined coolly the accusations will be found to be half-truths. Religion is escape. Psychologists will tell us that that is its biological value. Without the escape provided by it, life on this globe would be found unsupportable. People need to get out of themselves, if the tension of life is to be eased. But it all depends on what we get out into: 'truth' or 'falsehood'. If it is the latter, then it has no biological value. The world of imagination has no relation to the world of reality. It is but aerial castle building. But if it is the former, then it is refreshment and strength. It sends one back to the work-a-day world with greater zest and insight, and supports us through seeing the Whole in the part. Imagination here is the gateway to Truth. It has biological value.

Religion, again, sanctions both the principles of Authority and Freedom, the two poles of the existence of man. Religion, in its true nature, is thus both conservative and revolutionary. It tells us of God's plan for Man's salvation. As it is a developing plan on the plane of history, and not a series of unconnected changes, it cannot stand for *mere* revolution. Again, because it is a developing plan, including fresh starts and a rise to newer levels, it cannot be *mere* conservatism, either. It must be both, and not merely one. Unfortunately what God hath joined together, man has put asunder. Thus we have periods when Religion has stood for either one principle or the other. What a Revolutionary Age asks is : "Is Religion consistent with Progress?"

There are certain types of religion a revolutionary age has no use for. A *merely* other-worldly religion has no meaning for it. Similarly, a religion which is not in earnest with morality. Or, a religion that treats imperfect conditions as necessary for this existence, thus allowing for an ultimate duality in life. Thus what the reconciliation of science and religion was to an earlier age, the reconciliation of progress and religion is to this.

The charge of hypocrisy against religion, one of the

principal planks of the Revolutionary indictment, is still, again, another half-truth. It has point only if it is meant that religion needs a social application which is prominently lacking today. So far the conquests of religion have been most in the realm of the individual life. Half measures have brought us where we are. The times require not half measures but being thorough.

Descending from general to particular considerations, let us ask how the religions we are concerned with, *viz* : the religions of India, are preparing themselves to front the New Day.

Hinduism is our oldest religion. It has been struck most by the revolutionary storm. The institutions which were considered essential to it have crashed or are crashing. The Mahatma's practice has promoted inter-dining and sanctioned inter-marriage, though his theory of life is antagonistic to these. The Anti-Untouchability Campaign is altogether his creation. Also to him largely, we owe, our women-folk, particularly Hindu women, jumping the Zanana. It requires an effort of imagination to comprehend this changed face of things, on the part of those of us who have known Hinduism in life, or through books. Hinduism has recaptured her old mobility and is applying herself to the prob-

lems of the day. Prof. Radhakrishna today is our most distinguished reconstructor of Hindu Philosophy. The following from his pen is an eloquent expression, at once, of the spread of the revolutionary spirit amongst us, and his confidence in Hinduism to meet it. "In my travels round the country and abroad" he writes "I have learnt that there are thousands of men and women today who are hungry to hear the good news of the birth of a new order, eager to do and dare, ready to make sacrifices that a new society may be born, men and women who dimly understand that the principles of a true religion, of a just social order, of a great movement of generosity in human relations, domestic and industrial, economic and political, national and international, are to be found in the basic principles of the Hindu religion. Their presence in growing numbers is the pledge for the victory of the powers of light, life, and love over those of darkness, death, and discord."*

One particular effect of Hinduism on our political life should not be forgotten. Our non-violent revolution would have been more violent than it has been, at certain points and places, were it not for the age-long discipline of the Hindu character.

* *The Legacy of India*, p. 286. (Oxford University Press).

Hinduism is the mother-religion of the younger faiths, Islam and Christianity, the majority of whose adherents have come out of it. The younger communities therefore cannot but look on her with respect and affection and rejoice in the Mother's green old age.

Coming to Indian Islam, we find a community with a great past and considerable contribution to Indian life and thought. Communities which had got adjusted through the ages in their relationship to each other, have fallen out today under the influence of British government and education, and the New Reforms, in particular. This, however, is not a condemnation of the new principles playing on us, as some of us think and talk. It is, on the other hand, the inevitable falling out, the dialectic of a coming higher and deeper unity. The adjustments now have to be made on a higher and deeper level, the old standards having been found deficient by the heightening of values, which British government and education have brought us. Indian Islam sulked in its tents, because communal justice, as dictated by the higher demands of today, was absent in our common life. Our Hindu fathers had the wit to combine the most rigorous social exclusiveness with the utmost catholicity of belief. The whole fabric of Aryan consolidation of different

racess and peoples, a monument of genius, was based on this. But modern demands are against such shifts of a double standard in any social organism. Compare the protest of the Indian against a double standard of citizenship in the Empire, as inimical to its unity. So Indian Islam's doubts and hesitations about being something more than a mere community is understandable. It is the practice of *Satyagraha*, in one form, to get communal redress.

The dialectic, however, has the way of biting the very hand that feeds it. Opposition, legitimate upto a certain point, has a tendency to be carried to suicidal lengths. Indian Islam, unfortunately, illustrates this today. There are forces which have worked in the past and are working today, towards the building up of an Ulster in India—a belt of Mahommedan provinces from the North Western Frontier Province down to Sind.

But fortunately for us all, Indian Islam is not without its better mind. A very worthy representative of this school is the Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. What Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has to say* on the question of the transitional character of the preferen-

* In *Chap. XI of The Indian Federation*. (Macmillan & Co.)

tial treatment given to minor communities in the New India Act, and on the unwisdom of Mahommedan and Hindu Provinces, will be a sanative draught to his own community, and a healing balm to other communities. Sir Shafaat realises, also, how political reform unsupported by big social changes will not do for India today. Speaking of his own community, he touches, with a light hand, on the need of enlightened religious ideas*, when he speaks of its being subject to frequent gusts of feeling; and he is not at all insensible to the impoverishment of our common life for which the institution of *pardab* is responsible. Most of all Sir Shafaat is alive to the tornado in which we all have been caught and which is determining the velocity of things for us, *viz.* the Youth point-of-view amongst us. "The Indian young men and women who are starting their life", he points out, "are impatient of the lumber of the ages which is sometimes represented as the quintessence of wisdom, and will make short work of those who oppose their path".†

* One of the younger political leaders, Pandit Sundar Lal, has remarked that Hindu-Mahommedan unity depended on the correct interpretation of 'inspiration' and 'infallibility'. A very true saying, and capable of a much wider application.

† *The Indian Federation* p. 339.

It is no longer possible to maintain the solidarity of a communal front today. Communal solidarity can only be maintained when the community's interests are threatened. Such fears have been rendered baseless by the New Government of India Act. Again, there are too many influences at work cutting across such divisions, and one of the most powerful is the economic pressure under which we are all labouring. A conversation in a Railway compartment will illustrate our point. A Mahommedan gentleman, a High Court Advocate, was heard by us remarking that Socialism was going to put everything right. On being asked "how?", the reply was : "Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is thinking that out for us." The gentleman in question also remarked : if all the requirements of religion as to the making of gifts and the distributing of alms were conformed to, there would be no poverty. These statements are pregnant with significance. Indian Islam thus, and it is true of all minor communities, has to find its life by losing it in the life of the country. Then only will her future outshine her past.

When we come to Christianity, what we find is the striking manner in which the teachings, and the life and death of Jesus, have appealed to the mind of Revolutionary

India. The Mahatma has got the whole technique of his movement (*Satyagraha*) from Christianity and has joined it to the Hindu End of Freedom. The idea of the necessity of unmerited suffering to win over the enemy is a new thought in Hinduism, or an old thought, if you look at it from the standpoint of the mind of man as naturally Christian, which had lain many fathoms deep and has now been resurrected under Christian influence. It is the Christ of Revolution that appeals here : the Cross as the Key to the Kingdom of God. The same is true of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who writes of "the rebel Jesus preaching non-violence and *ahimsa* and a revolt against the social order."* Their criticism of present-day Christianity, as being largely built on other foundations than of Christ, is a sanative purge. "The Sermon on the Mount and modern European and American Christianity—how amazingly dissimilar they are !"† Both of these great men would be the first to want the Christian Social Order, the Kingdom of God established on earth. Their difference with the Church is in their distrust of the Church's capacity to establish it.‡

* *Glimpses of World History*, Vol. I., p. 134.

† *Glimpses*, p. 134.

‡ It is not merely the politician that has been gripped

Satyagraha is the only weapon, according to these two leaders, to establish the New Order. The conception of *Satyagraha* as completely abjuring the coercive protection of law and order is a popular myth. They do not contemplate soul-force *altogether* substituting physical force. The *Satyagraha* government will have its army for defence, if not offence. We can take it also that the police and jails will continue to function. What these leaders contemplate is *Satyagraha* functioning within the context of the Coercive State. And both allow that before *Satyagraha* can be successful, certain conditions will have to be present. It can succeed only with a highly moralised government. A government which is autocratic or tyrannical can make *Satyagraha* of none effect. The very important conclusion

by the Christ of Revolution, but the philosopher also. The following is a newspaper report of an address by Prof. Radha Krishna. "What", he asked, "does Christianity ultimately mean, if it is not the power of love and suffering to remake society?" This, he declared, was the method of the Christian Revolution. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn". Those, he said, were the words uttered by God in the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, and Christianity ultimately stood for that view of God as the supreme Revolutionary. *The Indian Social Reformer*. Dec. 13, 1930.

that follows therefore is that *Satyagraha* has a very limited scope in establishing the New Order.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has a more fundamental difficulty with this technique, believer and practiser though he is of it. He poses the doubt : whether this method of converting our opponents does extend beyond the individual to groups. He supports himself by quoting Niebuhr on the point. But this makes moral values altogether illusory, a position which is neither Pandit Nehru's nor, we think, Niebuhr's *finally*.*

Has Christianity any message for the present difficulty ? The answer will take us somewhat afield and we must beg indulgence for it.

Our lives are related to one another. This is true of states as it is of individuals, whether we realise it or not. A people thus cannot settle its affairs without reference to other peoples'. National order thus presupposes, for its well-being, an international order. Now the Western Church, as it is called, attempted and realised within its limits, and under its auspices, such an international order. Its achieve-

* See Note on Niebuhr at the end.

ments to control competition, political and economic, in the light of the then knowledge, is a matter of history.

That order got broken up at the Reformation. The breaking up had to be, as defects existed in it. But the more important point is that destruction was not replaced by construction, and it is not to this day. That is the sadness of it ! The centripetal forces were weakened and the centrifugal strengthened. We found Freedom and lost Authority. It affected every department of life : religion, morals, philosophy and science. Every branch of life proclaimed its autonomy. The result was power without direction, and the present lawlessness and confusion. A recent illustration of this revolt, from the sphere of knowledge, is the setting up of Psychology as an autonomous state, shaking off the yoke of Philosophy. The upshot of the process : the Church becoming the servant of Nationalism and Economics, instead of their ruler, as the Mahatma and Pandit have pointed out.* This trouble, it has to be remembered, has spread from the West to the East. The Renaissance of the East in its emergence from Mediaevalism has followed the same road. What we call Western Mate-

* *Glimpses*, p. 447.

rialism is the common measure of life and practice both in the East and the West today.

Thus, the problem for Christianity is the restoring of this broken international order. Christians realise it can no more be under the Church. But it will have to be, none the less, based on Christian principles and values. This is axiomatic. It will have to be on common values, but the standard has to be the highest and not the lowest common measure. The League seemed to point to such a meeting ground. But the League is in adversity today. The next problem is that of sanctions behind International decisions. Here, at first sight, there seems to be no unanimity. The Christian position, however, is not absolutely against the use of force. Force, however, must be the servant of moral considerations and not *vice versa*. Its sphere must get narrower and narrower as moralisation proceeds. It must decrease and moral considerations, or the Way of Persuasion, must increase. There is place for *Satyagraha* within the Christian scheme, but its sphere is a very limited one and its application has always to be justified by the law of consequences. Judged by this test, the Mahatma's *Satyagraha* has had two distinguished successes, in South Africa and in Champaran respectively, and has miscarried in its other applications.

The State, according to the Christian view, is a moral institution. It can become evil, but is not evil to begin with, or in its essence. That is the Anarchic and Tolstoyan view which can be traced in Mahatma's thought and practice. There is nothing to be ashamed of in the coercive character of the State. The coercion can be used for moral improvement. The British Government has used this coercive power to promote our intellectual, moral and spiritual growth. It has given us religious toleration, the fruit of centuries of struggle in the West, setting its seal thus to the principle that we can finish now in a quicker time the road which others have taken a very much longer time to cover. Thus steps can be swallowed or jumped—the catastrophic as opposed to, and supplementing, the evolutionary view of progress, “the inevitability of gradualism” of the Simon Report. Further, at a critical time in the history of India and England we had a Viceroy who followed the Way of the Cross, and let “the Naked Fakir”* stride up the steps of Government House to negotiate with him on terms of equality. It was this same Viceroy, again, who earlier was instrumental in getting the Round Table Method to supplant

* Mr. Churchill's terminological inexactitude.

the earlier Dictatorial Method in force. It is one thing altogether, not to be fully satisfied with the results of this method (as embodied in the New Act), and another thing, to question its sincerity and belittle the change that it marked in Indo-British relationship. To try to subvert the foundations of such a State, therefore, the Christian might be pardoned for feeling, even by such a noble means as *Satyagraha*, is to use a worthy means to an unworthy end.

Differ from such use as strongly as he may, the Christian cannot but be grateful to the Mahatma for the light he has shed on Christian thought and practice by his "Experiments with Truth." The cruciality of the Cross for the Kingdom, the Realism of the Sermon on the Mount, the Apocalyptic strain in Christ's teaching, to have brought these to the forefront is Christianity's debt to the Mahatma. His *Imitatio Christi* is a foretaste of what India might bring to the common store when her mind and heart have been fully captured by Christ. *Ex Oriente lux !*

But all this might appear a very slow and a halting method of dealing with urgent problems whose solution cannot wait. Has Christianity a response to such a demand? For ourselves, we think it has.



Christians think that all things are possible to them that believe, and that God gives us beyond our deserts and our asking. What holds back the renewal of society, the making of all things new ? And what is it that makes us afraid of such a renewal ? It is, at bottom, human selfishness. Christianity has always held that lives, even the worst, can and do change. This it has done in the face of the dogmatism of science and pessimism. The Cross has the power to release a revolutionary energy in the human soul which can and does transform the individual life. But we have only scratched so far the surface of Conversion. Conversion is not confined to the 'heart' alone. That has been the tragic mistake. The 'mind' and 'will' also do come in. These we have neglected so far.

It has been helped by a sharp dualism of 'grace' and 'nature', which has crept into Christian thinking, and has shorn the conception of the redemption of the world of all evolutionary meaning, by over emphasising the act of God.* The substance of Christian thinking lends no countenance either to a pure transcendentalism or a pure imma-

* The consequences of such a position on Luther's conception of Christianity have been justly castigated by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. *Glimpses*, Vol. I. p. 446.

nentism. It stands for a balanced synthesis of the two. Perfection of man and of creation will thus be both evolutionary and catastrophic. We cannot sacrifice one aspect of Truth to another. There is thus room for human effort and progress, and also the act of God in lifting us up to higher levels, as we seek to rise to them.

A 'thinking conversion' will realise how hopeless it is and how self-defeating, to try to be a Christian, without making the order we live under, also Christian. The pace of things will get accelerated. For, it will have to bear some relation now to the magnitude of the achievement. Also, impossible things will become possible, for we would have cleared away all unnecessary encrustations from our thinking.

But conversion at once suggests Supernatural Power coming to man's help, when he has reached the limits of his power. The nearest category to explain it is "Emergent Evolution", when something altogether new comes into life. Man, by his unaided power, cannot reconstruct himself or society. He can go up to a certain point, and then he fizzles out and drops back into Pessimism. This is the witness of Science and Philosophy alike. The one has given us, at best, a gladiatorial theory of existence and has turned a very Frankenstein in his hands. As for the other, there is

only cyclical repetitions and no faith in human progress. It is only the conviction that the Lord is at hand, the Apocalyptic Hope, common alike to the Gospels and our Ancient Scriptures, the *Geeta*,* that can give us the power to create a new epoch, to turn a new page in the history of man. Without this power, we are helpless. With it, we need not despair. The Capture of Power is the most absorbing quest of Revolutionary India today. Here, we would urge in all humility, is the key to it.

* Whenever the moral order is endangered, to reestablish it, the Lord is reborn.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिं भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानाय धर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥

Note A. P. 71.

Niebuhr.

On the closing page of *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, Niebuhr describes as an *illusion* the conviction that collective life could be moralised. It, however, is a necessary illusion. Political realism thus ends in metaphysical dualism. Life, however, must make peace with metaphysics, if it is not going to end in confusion and eventual loss. For, the refusal to do it is that we cannot go on believing in 'Force' and 'Love' as two coordinate principles, of equal value, and we must come down on one side or the other of the fence. In a later contribution, however, Niebuhr takes a more constructive view of the problem. He there *relates* 'realism' to 'idealism' and does not dig a gulf, as before, between the two. Criticising current Christianity, he affirms: "There is no reason why Christianity should not have a political ethic which inspires men to the attainment of justice without sacrificing the values of its love perfectionism" (p. 470 *Christianity and the Social Revolution*). Again: "And such an ethic will relate the heights of its pure religion to the depths of the political and economic realm" (*Do.* p. 471).

Niebuhr says, however, at the same time, that "the ideal of love is really beyond the possibilities of history" (*Do.* p. 470). The reference here is to the Christian belief in the ultimate redemption of the world, which is not possible by human effort alone, but by the breaking out, on the historical plane, of Divine power. As we have already indicated, the realisation of the Kingdom of God stands for

both evolutionary and catastrophic progress, and we have to get hold of the truth here by both its ends.

Niebuhr's position finally thus comes to treat of 'Force' as *Interim Ethic* and 'Love' as the Final one; and 'Force' must decrease and 'Love' increase.

Note B. P. 73.

Satyagraha in Christianity.

Satyagraha, we have said, has a place, although a limited one, in the Christian scheme of things. We might illustrate it by the Lambeth Conference conclusion: that Christians should refuse to fight, if the Government goes to war, without submitting first the case to the judgement of an international tribunal. Another illustration is that of the Peace Army. The idea here is to come between the fighting forces and get killed, for moral effect. This, however, it is to be feared, has not been clearly thought out for practical purposes. There is, further, the Scriptural idea of the Messianic people, a practice of *Satyagraha* on a nation-wide scale. This, however, is only possible when one of two alternatives is present. First: that the offending Power is sufficiently moralised to be converted eventually by such an exhibition. Otherwise, it would be pure suicide. Secondly: that a body of Powers would use their military force betimes to bring the offender to its senses and rescue the victim. Development of collective responsibility would give us the second alternative sooner, and the growth of moralisation, eventually, the first. Today we are far from either.

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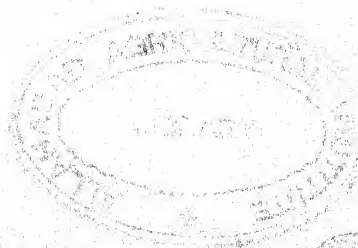
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